

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ACDA-19 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-11 OMB-01 AEC-11

DRC-01 /171 W

----- 088935

R 261830Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8338

SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 15567

SHAPE FOR INTAF: VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE
DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: CSCE/MBFR: CBM PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINT
RELATIONSHIP

1. FONOFF MBFR AND CSCE EXPERTS ARE ACCORDING
INCREASING ATTENTION TO THE SUBSTANTIVE AND TACTICAL
TIMING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CSCE/CBMS AND MBFR PRE-
REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. THE FRG HAD
INITIALLY HOPED TO BRING THE AGREED TWO (OR THREE) CSCE/
CBMS--PRE-ANNOUNCEMENTS OF MANEUVERS

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AND MOVEMENTS AND EXCHANGE OF MANEUVER OBSERVERS--INTO

MBFR PERHAPS IN LATE JANUARY/EARLY FEBRUARY 1974 AS POSSIBLE PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. BUT THIS FRG HOPE HAS NOW FADED SOMEWHAT IN THE SOUR AFTERMATH OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVITCH'S TOUGH PRESENTATION ON CBMS (GENEVA 5579). WHILE THE GERMANS BELIEVE THE DETAILS OF THE TWO BASIC CBMS COULD CONCEIVABLY HAVE WON GENERAL ACCEPTANCE IN GENEVA IN TIME TO FACILITATE WESTERN PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINT PRESENTATION IN VIENNA, BONN DEEMS THIS INCREASINGLY UNLIKELY IN VIEW OF SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TWO CBMS, THE U.S. POSITION ON MOVEMENTS AND THE NEARLY OPEN ENDED DEMANDS OF ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND SOME NEUTRALS.

2. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, BONN TENDS TO PREFER DEFERRING INTRODUCTION OF MBFR PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES II AND IV--I.E., THE FIRST TWO CBMS--AT LEAST UNTIL THOSE MEASURES ARE AGREED IN GENEVA. THIS IS BECAUSE THE FRG FEARS THE SOVIETS MIGHT SEIZE ON SUCH WESTERN MBFR PROPOSALS AS A PRETEXT FOR SHIFTING CONSIDERATION OF THESE TOPICS TO VIENNA AND DILUTING CSCE OF ANY MILITARY/SECURITY CONTENT. IN THE GERMAN VIEW, SUCH A SCENARIO WOULD ONLY FURTHER INCITE THE DEMANDS OF NEUTRALS AND OTHERS FOR STILL MORE EXTENTCSCE MILITARY/SECURITY TREATMENT, THUS THREATENING PROSPECTS FOR REASONABLE PROGRESS IN GENEVA.

3. WITH AN EYE ON THE LIKELY CONJUNCTION OF EVENTS IN MBFR AND CSCE IN THIS AREA, THE GERMANS ARE ACCORDING SOME THOUGHT TO LIMITING INITIAL MBFR PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINT PROPOSALS TO MEASURE I AND PERHAPS ONE OTHER MEASURE, WITHOUTPREJUDICE TO INTRODUCING FURTHER PRE-REDUCTION PROPOSALS; NO REFERENCE WOULD BE MADE TO THE TWO CSCE/CBM'S (MBFR PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES II AND IV). ON THIS THEORY, NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS WOULD GO ON SIMULTANEOULY TO DISCUSSION OF OTHER MBFR ISSUES, INCLUDING REDUCTIONS, AND THIN WESTERN PRE-REDUCTION GDS
HILLENBRAND

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8339

SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 15567

MEASURES EITHER COULD BE MADE THICKER ONCE GENEVA CBM
SITUATION IS CLARIFIED OR WESTERN PRE-REDUCTION
IDEAS COULD END UP AS CONSTRAINTS COLLATERAL TO ACTUAL
REDUCTIONS.

4. AT DEFENSE MINISTRY BEHEST, FRG IS ALSO LOOKING
AGAIN AT PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE III, WITHOUT LANGUAGE
ON LOCATION, ALTHOUGH FONOFF STILL PREFERS TO DEFER
III GIVEN ACTUAL LIMITATIONS INVOLVED RATHER THAN
SIMPLEPRE-ANNOUNCEMENT CHARACTER OF OTHER PRE-
REDUCTION MEASURES. WE UNDERSTAND DEFENSE MINISTRY
ALSO CONSIDERS PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE IV (MANEUVER
OBSERVERS) TO BE POTENTIALLY MORE TO THE WESTERN THAN
TO THE WP ADVANTAGE IN VIEW OF CLOSED EAST EUROPEAN
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SOCIETIES.

AND TIMING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CSCE/CBM'S AND MBFR
PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS ARE A FURTHER CAUSE OF
CONTINUED FLUIDITY IN THE GERMAN POSITION ON PRE-
REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. SENIOR DEFENSE
MINISTRY OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFF THIS WEEK THAT DEFENSE
MINISTRY WAS CAREFULLY STUDYING PRE-REDUCTION
CONSTRAINT ISSUES AND THAT GERMAN GOVERNMENT POSITION
WOULD REMAIN FLUID UNTIL DEFENSE MINISTRY POSITION

WAS TAKEN FULLY INTO ACCOUNT.
HILLENBRAND

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